THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 223.

ASSASSINATION OF MR. PERCEVAL,—HIS CLAIMS UPON US, AND CHARACTER.

The sensations of wonder and abhorrence, which this deed has excited all over the country, still continue to be intense, and are as creditable to the habits of the nation in one respect as they are natural to the feelings of every body in another. The assassination of any person, under any circumstances, has long been a singular event to witness in this land; and when to the rarity of the crime are added the rank and public prominence of it's unfortunate object, the surprise comes upon people with double force, and they are lost for a moment in a bewildering curiosity that can only break out in questions and exclamations. It is as if all England were at one and the same moment beholding a man occupied in the nation's concerns, and intent upon nothing but the business before him, when he suddenly disappears from before their eyes, and his room is filled up with outcries and horror. Never was the futility of human calculations more completely exemplified. Mr. PERCEVAL had just felt himself secure in his Ministry,—he had just disposed of one question after another, without excepting the one that was thought a favourite with the House,—it was but two days before, amidst the cheers of his party, that he had made a triumphant comparison between them and his predecessors,—he was then, after the quiet and refreshing interval of the Sabbath, coming down to the House in the fullness of his confidence and the complacency of his anticipation,—nay, he was entering the very threshold of that House, and thinking perhaps, at the instant, of the future triumphs of a long and successful Administration, when the hand of an obscure individual, pointing from a corner, dashes down his plans and his existence at once, and turns him into a corpse.—Thus had he been planning, toiling, and triumphing, merely, in fact, to meet his own death: the success which he enjoyed was his destruction; and by the same rule, the ill-success of his rival candidates for the Ministry was the salvation of some eminent person of the opposite party; for it appears that his office alone was the provocation, and that if any other person had presented himself, as a Minister, to the mechanical vengeance of the assassin, the pistol would have been at his breast. When the mind, thus bewildered for the moment and driven about with enquiry, obtains leisure to confine it's attention to the victim, the first feeling,—and a most honourable one it is,—is that of unmixed benevolence towards the deceased and his family; and as this must naturally be supposed to operate even to an excess in the circle of those who acted or thought with him, the only impulse for some days is to testify it by every means in their power. Accordingly the friends of the late Minister, both in Parliament and out of it, have been occupied during the past week in eulogizing his character and devising how to reward it in making provision for his family. Now much of what has been advanced on the one head, and just as much as was done at first on the other, may be pronounced right and proper:—for it is fit that such parts of his character, as are acknowledged by all to be praiseworthy, should be remembered as they deserve; and as it is the custom in this country to make pecuniary acknowledgements to the survivors of it's public servants, all that was requisite to stamp the acknowledgement in this instance should have and has been done. But whatever may be the feelings which every human being ought to have on the present occasion,—and they are such, we doubt not, as every Englishman has who is worthy of his country,—it is the duty of those who prefer their country to an individual,—who prefer the interests of millions to the feelings of one family,—to deprecate all excess that can tend either to mislead our notions of public merit or to afford grounds of provocation and complaint to those upon whom the exigencies of the times are severely pressing;—in plain terms, it is incumbent upon us to weigh the character of the deceased Minister with as much impartiality and reasonableness as we would that of any other person, and to see that in doing for his memory and survivors all that his supposed friends would persuade us, we do not do a great deal too much both for their real wants and for the interests of the state. These are the two main points for consideration in the present subject; and as the latter is connected with matters, that always throw an air of meanness upon enquiry, and that enter too much into English notions of making amends and paying honours, we shall get rid of it first as briefly as we can. The original sum intended for Mr. PERCEVAL's children was 50,000*l.*,—with 2000*l.* a year for Mrs. PERCEVAL; and now it is proposed to give a thousand a year to the eldest son, who is either at the University or about to go thither. The propriety of the original sum no one disputed; but the subsequent proposals have broken the unanimity of those who discuss the provision; and the friends of Mr. PERCEVAL are called upon for their reasons. They answer thus. In the first place, they say, that he gave up a lucrative profession, at the request of his Sovereign, to take a leading part in the political world, and thereby sacrificed the interest of his family to those of the state;—and in the second place, that without such additional provision, his children, and particularly his eldest son, are deprived of their proper means of acquiring a fit education. To these assertions it is replied, firstly, that persons

are never in the habit of entering upon a public line of life purely to gratify another, or without an original impetus of their own; and that, whether they are or not, the proceeding must be regarded as that sacrifice of interest to a sense of duty or to inclination, which makes up its mind to consequences and balances the pleasure of one pursuit against the profit of another;—and it is replied secondly, that a Minister's family consisting of a lady and twelve children in possession of nearly 7000*l.* a-year, must be presumed as capable of procuring the latter good educations as that of a country gentleman in similar circumstances, for a good education is the same in all cases, and thousands of persons with those means have been as well grounded in learning as the wealthiest of families. But the truth is, that before the House proceeded to discuss what should or should not be given to Mr. PERCEVAL's family, or rather what should have been given them over and above the sum which is thought requisite to express it's general acknowledgment of his services, it should have understood what assistance the family really wanted. When this had been ascertained, the House, if it pleased, might have indulged it's liberality to the very utmost of what a family of it's rank and connexions might be supposed to require; but till such a proceeding had taken place, the Members were at best discussing the matter in darkness, and without anything to inform them, whether they were providing for requisite comforts or only wasting the public money upon coffers already filled. Such was the view which Mr. W. SMITH took of the subject, and we cannot conclude this part of the subject better then by extracting his speech as it appeared in the *Times*,—observing only by the way, that although Mr. PERCEVAL was a charitable he was by no means a careless man, and that his widow, however unfortunate and however cordially to be pitied in every other respect, is represented by rumour as possessing much for her family in point of substance and a great deal more in expectations. "Mr. WILLIAM SMITH said, the more he heard the subject discussed, he was the more strongly convinced he ought to vote for the original proposal, and that the Resolution which had been added to it last night was founded in error. The House had, in the most emphatic and unanimous manner, marked their just indignation and abhorrence of the atrocious deed which had deprived them of so Worthy and Honourable a Member—they had farther expressed a unanimous determination to provide for his family. In furtherance of this, they had as unanimously agreed to the whole of the grant proposed by his Majesty's Ministers for that purpose; after which, an Hon. Gentleman, taking advantage of the feelings which he saw at that moment possessed the Committee, brought forward a third Resolution going to a much greater extent and which the Committee had thought proper to adopt. That however, in his (Mr. SMITH's) opinion, was rather a question of judgment than of feeling; and it would not have been amiss if the question had been adjourned to that day s'ennight. The great stress of the arguments seemed to be that Mrs. PERCEVAL's income was by no means sufficient to enable her to educate her children in a manner suitable to their rank and situation in life; *but how could any one tell what that income is? Would the House think it proper to inquire into that income?* He deprecated voting such a sum on the spur of an occasion. The House ought rather, as had been well expressed by the worthy Member for Yorkshire (Mr. WILBERFORCE) to have confined themselves to a sum that would effectually shew their respect for the family of Mr. PERCEVAL, and their sympathy in their irreparable loss, than any very ample provision for particular purposes. This had already led to another proposal, which might produce a still farther one; and there was no knowing where it might end."

Just however as these remarks appear to have been, the ill effects of a superfluous provision of this nature are of a very temporary and partial nature, and nothing at all indeed, compared with the danger of those unwarrantable and excessive eulogies which the partizans of the late Ministers are now heaping upon his memory. Let us be just to the private individual; but let us not, by exaggerating the services and character of the public Minister, endeavour to overcome the understanding of the nation through its feelings, and be unjust to our own political welfare. Mr. PERCEVAL, it appears, was a very worthy man, in private,—an exemplary husband, father, and friend, and adorned, as that triple character must imply, with the noble qualities of good temper and generosity. There is no one, among the bitterest of his opponents, who can be insensible to virtues of such a nature; and among others of that class, we can state for our own parts, that we regard his memory on that account with feelings that make us doubly regret his political errors,—calculated as they were, in our opinion, to injure thousands of husbands, fathers, and friends, who compose our beloved country, and to add another dangerous example to the list of those politicians whose private and public characters have been singularly at variance. We cannot but regret also, at the same time, that such of Mr. PERCEVAL's opponents as knew him privately, should have delayed the commendations they had to bestow, till the moment that forced them out. To judge from the past speeches and writings of some of those persons, who have now passed from satire to eulogy in speaking of him, we must have concluded that they really thought him one of the meanest and corruptest of men; but he is now no more;—and is it then because they are freed from his rivalry, or because they are conscious of their injustice, that they are now throwing panegyricks into his grave? The circumstance is extremely honourable to him, but very far, in our opinion, from being so to themselves. It is thought liberal, on these occasions, to speak as kindly and largely as possible of the memory of the deceased, and there appears to be a desire to make up for past exaggerations of an ill description by exaggerations of a good: but this is something very distinct from a true liberality; it may rather be accounted an effusion of the nerves and a compromise with uneasy recollections; for it would be sheer baseness not to acknowledge what we consider as good qualities in the character of one who is dead, whereas justice and a true spirit make their acknowledgment while he is living and in the midst of us. The *Examiner* can safely assert, that it has always endeavoured to act up to this principle, and it would have done so with regard to Mr. PERCEVAL, had it known what it now hears, or had the panegyricks upon his good qualities proceeded hitherto from any other than the most venal and polluted mouths. It might be said, that if this is our opinion, we ought to have enquired into his character before; but our want of political acquaintance, and our task of contemplating people solely in their public spheres, must be our apology: we have never said any thing *against* the private good qualities of Mr. PERCEVAL; and it is the business of an

impartial journalist only to know what he sees and hears out in the world. It is with a free conscience, therefore, that we join the universal voice in paying our contributions to his private memory: and we only wish that some of those political friends of his, from highest to lowest, who affect to be so deeply impressed with his domestic virtues and general character, would prove to us that they are not playing the hypocrite, and that they have decency enough to imitate what they have face enough to praise. These men may now see of what use to a politician is the freedom from those vices, which they are in the habit of regarding as nothing at all in the characters of the great,—as things unworthy of mention, or fit only for revolutionists to make a noise about. They tell us that the private virtues of Mr. Perceval compelled the respect of his adversaries,—that they smoothed the difficulties of business, conciliated the jarrings of conflicting interests, and above all, held out an example equally rare and useful in the state. What then must be the consequences of the reverse of all this? Surely that the private vices of ruling men compel the disrespect of their adversaries,—that they obstruct the paths of business, increase the jarrings of conflicting interests, and above all, hold out an example equally common and pernicious in the state. Let them compare the two pictures; and then proceed, if they chuse, to panegyrize debauched Princes, and Courtiers without a character.

Whatever praise, however, is due to Mr. Perceval's memory, as that of a worthy domestic man, and however exalted are those virtues of temper and generosity which he appears to have exhibited, we find it impossible, in reviewing the actions of his political life, to reconcile his public with his private character, or to infer from a general contemplation of both, that he is altogether to be regarded as as a man of an extraordinary cast of mind, or as a spirit of the highest order even in virtue. His talents seem to have amounted, in conduct, to a superiority of intrigue over men whom it was little honour to excel, and in speech, to a readiness of reply, which provided so many words were utteredand so many assertions made, knew itself sure of its majority. In all that we have witnessed of his measures, we should be glad to have pointed out to us one original or successful feature, which announces any superior intellect of his own; and in all that we have read of his speeches, we should be equally glad if any body can call to mind or discover one single sentence, remarkable for novelty or profundity, one that might be quoted as a maxim or food for thinking, and at all resembling those that are to be found by hundreds in the speeches of such men as Fox and Burke.—His politics, to speak generally, we take to have been a poor imitation of Mr. Pitt's, of whom he was an avowed and adoring disciple. His votes when out of office, and his plans when in, exhibited the same turn for a disregard of experience and of constitutional feeling, that is to say, the same turn for desperate coalitions, the same turn for ill-weighed and ill-conducted expeditions, the same downhill recklessness in finance, and the same use of Parliamentary corruption under its most provoking and disgusting features. To prove this, we need only mention to those who are accustomed to take an impartial and historical view of public measures, 1stly, the foolish re-excitement to arms of Austria and of Prussia,—2ndly, the preposterous expedition to Walcheren, and still worse, the subsequent delay of the armament in that deadly spot in the very teeth of necessity and of a regard for lives,—3dly, the coinage of a paper money—and the Orders in Council, which are now filling the country with bankrupts and beggars,—and 4thly, the barefaced vindication of the traffic for seats, the interested and hateful stand always made in defence of sinecures and reversions, and the protestations, natural enough as a corollary to those proceedings, but only the more obnoxious as such, which were sure to take place whenever the word Reform was mentioned in the House. To these Pittite perversenesses were added small-minded views of his own with regard to the Catholics; indeed, the whole system of Mr. Pitt was so deteriorated in the hands of his disciples in point of all that was strong and imposing, that they always presented one the idea of politicians who were intended only to be the mechanical instruments of a higher mind; and this in fact was precisely the case, Mr. Perceval and his friends only succeeding to their master's power upon the strength of the corruptions and prejudices he had left behind him, and of old narrowness of thinking in a certain quarter, to which in the humility of their ambition and the congeniality of their own fashion of intellect, they were prepared to shape themselves and stick fast as long as was requisite. So far, however, it is possible to attribute Mr. Perceval's errors to want of judgment; so far it is possible to account for his wrong views, and his coarseness of scent in what he pursued, by reducing his political sagacity to a sheer dullness of sense:—but there is one part of his public life, which, until his friends shall think proper to furnish us with the explanations which he himself refused, must continue to present an inexplicable inconsistency with his character for integrity, and to make us doubt whether he was not one of those dangerous politicians, who have distinct notions of right and wrong for private and public conduct,—those men, in short, who, contented with a general consciousness of good behaviour, and sophisticating to themselves about the beauty and goodness of their objects, will do wrong things in order to further their views and interests. We allude to the means by which, in concert with other circumstances, it is supposed he obtained his hold on the new Sovereign. It is well known, that to account for the strange and shameful separation which the Prince of Wales made between himself and his Consort, certain stories were industriously circulated to the disadvantage of the latter, and that these stories, the tendency of which was evidently so fatal to the individual and alarming to the state, were subsequently investigated by a set of judges appointed for that purpose. Mr. Perceval was her Royal Highness's Counsel on this occasion, and the result of his defence and his convictions in her favour was a Book, printed, it is said, under his immediate superintendance, and containing an account of the whole transaction from it's causes to it's conclusion. Now what could be the use of such a publication but to acquit or condemn her Royal Highness in the reader's opinion, and to make an impression upon us accordingly respecting the treatment she had experienced? That it acquitted her appeared to be obvious from the quarter whence it issued; and that it really did so, at any rate in Mr. Perceval's judgment, was plainly acknowledged by himself the other day in the House of Commons, when he expressed his entire conviction of her Royal Highness's innocence. Yet this Counsel, so ardent in her defence, so convinced of her innocence, and so busy in making a record of her

wrongs for the conviction of others, suddenly begins to buy up the copies of it at an enormous expense; and why? Seemingly for no other reason, than because he had found reason to alter his views according to circumstances, and because the *existence* of that book was sufficient to give him the hold he wished, while its *circulation* might produce awkward feelings between his new master and himself, and to prevent it was thus become a price of his retention in office. If these very obvious suspicions are not well founded, how are we to account for his desertion of her Royal Highness? How are we to account for it too at the very moment of all others when the desertion became suspicious? And how are we to reconcile his character for being a fast friend and an upright politician with the double fact, that he deserted her at one moment, and was compelled to speak well of her the next?—We leave these suspicions and questions to the consideration of those who can answer them best, and shall be truly happy to be the first to acknowledge their injustice, if ever it can be proved; but we repeat, that till then, the indiscriminate eulogies that are passed upon the late Minister are deficient in a moral as well intellectual sense, though not in the same degree; and that the persons who pronounce them, whether from blindness of attachment, from weakness of perception, or from wilful insolence of party, are only doing a serious injury both to the memory of their favourite and to the moral taste of the nation. As a part of this injury, at least in the latter respect, we should consider the monument that is to be erected to him in Westminster Abbey, did not the virtues he possessed really give him a better claim to one than half the characters that figure in marble, and had not this kind of reward been rendered so exceedingly common of late years, that the sight of a monument now-a-days, suggests little more than that of a blue ribbon or an Alderman's chain. It is a title in stone, almost as liable to be ill-bestowed as a nominal one,—a sort of political petrefaction, which grows over insignificant bodies as well as others, and as often includes the foulest as well as fairest of creatures. The different feeling and justice, with which such rewards are bestowed when they are left to time and the nation on one hand, or the moment and the government on the other, cannot be better seen than in the rarity and selectness of poetical monuments compared with political. An Anstey indeed creeps in occasionally among the Shakspeares and Spencers, and a Milton,—a republican poet,—is excluded; but we have no crowd of Lovibonds, Jagos, and Whitehcads, as we have of a hundred nameless courtiers and placemen long since forgotten; and therefore, as monuments go, we would much rather see Mr. Perceval's private virtues exhibited in stone, than all which the sculptor and the writer of epitaphs could do for Mr. Pitt himself. Setting aside his generosity, and merely going upon what constitutes the greatest comfort of the greatest part of one's life,—even his single quality of good temper, rising above the irritabilities about him, and blessing his fireside with a fair face of example and social goodness, would entitle him, in our opinion, to the honours of such a recollection more than the deeds of a thousand feverish politicians, who blaze but to destroy, and make us all wretched under pretence of making us great.

Upon the whole, to sum up the character of the late Minister, as it appears to us from all that we know of him, we should pronounce him a man of excellent dispositions to virtue, humane, reasonable, well-tempered, and reducing his good theory to practice in the ordinary intercourse of life; but from an understanding rather shrewd than solid, and from notions of propriety rather formed upon staid habits of concurrence in what he thought best in his sphere of action, than upon any deep reflection and elevation of sentiment, liable to be carried away by expediencies and sophistications for what he thought a good object, and therefore not fit to take a great and saving part in a nation on the decline, which nothing but a mind of great elements and a return to primitive institutions can restore. He was a well-disposed man, an excellent relation, and a weak minister.

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IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 11.

ASSASSINATION OF MR. PERCEVAL.

The House of Lords had finished hearing Counsel in an appeal case, and were proceeding with the reading of some private bills, when a bustling noise, as of a great number of people in confusion, was heard without doors. The business was interrupted, and a few moments of silence ensued in the House; all the Peers, of whom a considerable number had assembled to proceed with the evidence on the Petitions against the Orders in Council, looking towards the doors. Presently a cry was heard, "Mr. Perceval's shot—Mr. Perceval's shot."—A Gentleman, connected with one of the Parliamentary Offices, rushed in, in the utmost agitation and alarm. Most of the Peers came to the bar, and the officer mentioned was instantly surrounded both by their Lordships and those without the bar, all making the most eager enquiries. The account he gave was, that he was standing close by Mr. Perceval, in the lobby of the House of Commons, when a pistol was fired at Mr. Perceval, who uttered a cry of "murder," staggered two or three paces, fell on his side, and then rolled on his face. The officer then came away; but he said he believed that "Mr. Perceval was dead."—No doubt could now be entertained as to Mr. Perceval having been shot at; but a gleam of hope still appeared, that he might only have been severely, not mortally, wounded. —Some of the Lords, upon the first mention of the circumstance, had rushed out to ascertain the fact; they were now followed by most of the rest, hardly any except the Lord Chancellor and three of the Bishops remaining behind. These continued their inquiries at the bar; but the person who brought the intelligence could state no additional circumstance, though also assailed with questions by those on the outside of the bar. The Lords who had gone out at length began to return. The eyes of those who remained were rivetted on the countenance of him who first approached, and hope vanished. Their Lordships crowded together near the Woolsack, and continued for a few minutes in earnest private conversation: a call of "seats, seats," followed, and the Lords sat down.

The LORD CHANCELLOR.—I am not certain my Lords, whether what I am now about to suggest is in exact conformity with the orders of your Lordships' House; but there may be occasions when a rigid adherence to orders, established for the convenience of ordinary business, may lead to the greatest disorder. I have just been informed of a most melancholy and atrocious event, which has happened in the lobby of the other House. In this situation I feel it my duty to apprise your Lordships, that I shall take care to give the proper directions to the Officers, that none go out of the doors of this House of Parliament till we have been fully satisfied that they have not the means of doing farther mischief. (This was understood to have reference to a determination that those below the bar should be searched by the Officers as they went out, so far as to ascertain whether they had fire-arms; but this precaution seems

afterwards to have been considered as unnecessary, and the resolution was not persevered in.)

Their Lordships continued their private conversation near the Woolsack for some time longer, while some went out and others returned at intervals. The fact of Mr. Perceval's death now appeared certain; and the question, what proceeding it was fitting for the House to adopt under the circumstances, was next considered. Some mention was made of a Message from the House of Commons. It was then stated that the House of Commons had adjourned; and it was suggested this might be the most proper course for their Lordships.

Previous to adjourning, however, it was agreed on all hands that it would be proper to address the Prince Regent, to express the sentiments of the House on the melancholy and horrid occurrence. No one doubted the fact of the assassination; but to found upon it such a proceeding as that of an Address, it was necessary to have it established in a formal manner. There was some doubt as to the mode in which this should be done. At length there was a call of "seats, seats," and their Lordships resumed their seats on the benches.

The Duke of CUMBERLAND then rose, and said, having seen the Right Hon. Mr. Perceval wounded and dead, I think fit to communicate this fact to your Lordships, that you may take such measures upon it as to your Lordships shall seem proper.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—Where did the Noble Duke see this?

The Duke of CUMBERLAND.—I saw Mr. Perceval lying dead in a chair in the Speaker's Chamber, off the lobby of the House of Commons with a Surgeon and several other persons standing by him.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—We still have no evidence how Mr. Perceval came by his death, whether by fire-arms, or in what other manner. All we know from this is that he is dead, in the Speaker's Chamber.

Lord LIVERPOOL suggested, that the declaration of one of their Lordships upon his honour as to his belief of the fact, might be sufficient ground for the Address; but after a few words from Lord HOLLAND, the purport of which we could not collect, it was agreed to call witnesses to the bar, and the bar was immediately cleared for that purpose.

Mr. TAYLOR, one of the door-keepers of the House of Commons, was then called to the bar, and examined by the Lord Chancellor, who had left the woolsack, and taken his seat at the Committee table.

Q. What is your name?—A. Taylor.

Q. You are an Officer belonging to the House of Commons, are you?—A. I am, my Lord.

Q. What do you know in respect to Mr. Perceval? state what you know to the House.—A. My Lords, I saw Mr. Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons: I saw a pistol aimed at him, and at the same instant I saw the fire: and immediately after I saw Mr. Perceval fall.

Q. Did you hear the report of the pistol?—A. I did.

Q. Did Mr. Perceval fall immediately after?—A. He did, my Lord.

Mr. Taylor's evidence being so directly to the point, their Lordships did not think it necessary to examine any more witnesses. The Lord Chancellor again took his seat on the woolsack, and

Lord RADNOR moved a Resolution, "That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, expressive of the horror which this House feels at the atrocious assassination of Mr. Perceval, in the lobby of the House of Commons; and to pray that his Royal Highness would take the speediest and most effectual measures for bringing the perpetrators of the crime to justice."

Earl GREY seconded the motion. He said a very few words, in a low tone of voice, as if overpowered by his feelings; concluding with this—"that he most completely and heartily concurred in the motion."

The motion was unanimously agreed to. It was immediately proposed and agreed to, that the Address should be presented forthwith, by Lords especially appointed for that purpose.—Lords Grey, Fitzwilliam, Winchilsea, Mulgrave, Chichester, Radnor, Holland, Bathurst, Ellenborough, and others, were then appointed to go up with the Address forthwith. These Noble Lords went out immediately for that purpose, and the House adjourned.

Tuesday, May 12.

THE LATE MR. PERCEVAL.

The House met at a quarter past three o'clock. Lord Ellenborough took the woolsack instead of the Lord Chancellor, who had not arrived. After prayers, on the motion of Lord Bathurst, the House adjourned during pleasure, and no business was done until five o'clock. The Lord Chancellor then came into the House, evidently deeply affected, and a silent pause of some minutes ensued.

The Duke of YORK then rose, and stated, that he had in his hand the Answer of the Prince Regent to the Address of the House, respecting the assassination of Mr. Perceval, which, with their Lordships permission, he would deliver at the table.

The Answer was given in, and read by the Clerk. It contained only a few words, which were merely an echo to the Address,—"That his Royal Highness the Prince Regent participated in the sentiments of horror felt by their Lordships at the atrocious murder of Mr. Perceval, and would take the requisite measures to bring the perpetrators to justice."

The Earl of LIVERPOOL stated, that he had a Message from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, which he desired might be read.

The LORD CHANCELLOR took the Message, which, from his reading, we could only collect that it related to Mr. Perceval. His Lordship's feelings appeared quite to overpower him. The Address was then, in the ordinary form, handed to the Clerk, who read it aloud. It was as follows:—

"GEORGE P. R.

"The Prince Regent, deeply impressed with the severe loss his Royal Highness and the Country has sustained in consequence of the murder of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, and being desirous of marking his sense of the public and private virtues of Mr. Perceval, and of affording relief and assistance to his numerous and afflicted family, recommends to the House of Commons to enable his Royal Highness, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to make such provision for the widow and family of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval as to the justice and liberality of Parliament may seem proper." "G. P. R."

The Earl of LIVERPOOL said, that he should not do justice to his own feelings, if he were to adhere strictly to the ordinary form, and postpone the consideration of the Message even for one day. He should, therefore, immediately move an Answer of concurrence. It would be unworthy of the present melancholy occasion to mix what he had to say with any political questions whatever. He was sure the feelings of every one of their Lordships would go along with him, and that no political differences would be permitted to interfere with this tribute of respect for the memory of Mr. Perceval—that good and excellent man, who used his best endeavours to promote the truest interests of his country. His heart was too full to allow him to dwell upon the many private virtues of his departed friend; but this much he would say, that there were few men—indeed he knew no man with more virtues,—no man with fewer faults. If ever there was one less likely than another to be the object of personal dislike and resentment, Mr. Perceval was that man. If ever there was a man without a particle of guile, it was Mr. Perceval. He would dwell no farther, at present, upon this melancholy subject, but conclude with moving an Address to the Prince Regent, in answer to his Message, "assuring his Royal Highness that the House participated in the deep impression which his Royal Highness felt of the severe loss which his Royal Highness and the Country had sustained by the murder of Mr. Perceval;"—and so on, echoing the Message as usual.

Earl GREY trusted that the House would give him credit for participating most sincerely in the feelings excited by this deplorable and horrible event: not even the most intimate friend of Mr. Perceval could regard it with more detestation: but in concurring in the expression of that feeling which must pervade every British heart, he should add, that he highly approved

of the measure of making provision for the numerous family of a public servant, who, by such an event as this, was deprived of the opportunity of making provision for them himself. Might he, however, be permitted to say, that the purpose would have been better answered—that the House would have better consulted its own dignity, and acted with a juster feeling of propriety, if it adhered to the usual form, and adopted this proposition with more deliberation. He could not at present bring himself to criticize the words of the Message and Address; but having declared his participation in the sentiments of horror which such an event was calculated to excite, he owed it to his own honour,—to his consistency, to say, that he must not be understood to concur in any expressions of approbation of services which he had all along condemned. This he said to prevent any future misrepresentation; and, therefore, if there were in the Address any words of the description which he had mentioned, he must be considered as concurring in it only in the sense and with the qualification which he had stated. One word more. The Noble Earl had adverted not only to the public services, but to the private worth of Mr. Perceval. In early life he had the happiness of being in habits of greater intimacy with Mr. Perceval than at a later period; and he declared it to be his conviction, that with regard to the private virtues of Mr. Perceval, the Noble Earl had not said one word too much.—*(Hear, hear!)*

It was then agreed, on the motion of Lord LIVERPOOL, that the whole House should go up with the Address, which had been unanimously carried.

Lord LIVERPOOL then proposed that the House should adjourn for some days after to-morrow, with an understanding that even to-morrow nothing should come on that was likely to occasion a difference of opinion.

Earl GREY called the attention of the Noble Lord to the inconvenience suffered by the witnesses attending to give evidence on this subject, and the public importance in the present circumstances, of enabling them to go and superintend their workmen.

The LORD CHANCELLOR thought the House ought only to adjourn from day to day, that it might be ready for any event that might happen in the present state of ferment; but he declared it to be of the greatest moment that the examination of witnesses should not proceed for some days.

EAST INDIA TRADE.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE presented a Petition from the Corporation of London against the admission of the Outports to a share of East India importation, chiefly on the ground that the Petitioners had invested a great capital in warehouses, &c. for the purposes of trade, which would be lost to them unless the trade was continued on its present footing. The Noble Marquis gave no opinion on the subject; but stated, that the Petition deserved the most serious consideration.—Laid on the table.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 11.

The House went into a Committee on the Orders in Council. The first witness called was Robert Hamilton, manufacturer of earthenware in Staffordshire.

Mr. STEPHEN was in the course of his cross-examination, when about quarter past five o'clock the report of a pistol shot was heard in the House and Gallery; it did not at first interrupt the business of the House—a rush was heard between the door and the bar, and cries of order. A whisper ran round that somebody was shot, and it was soon learnt that as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby, he was shot by a person of the name of Bellingham, who had placed himself for that purpose at the side of the door leading from the stone staircase. Mr. Perceval was in company with Lord F. Osborne, and immediately on receiving the ball, which entered the left breast, he staggered and fell [illegible] of Mr. W. Smith, who was standing near the second [illegible]. The only words he uttered were, "Oh! I am murdered!" [illegible] was inarticulate, the sound dying between his [illegible] frequently taken up by Mr. Smith, who did not recognize him until he had looked in his face. The report of the pistol immediately drew great numbers to the spot, who assisted Mr. Smith in conveying the body of Mr. Perceval to the Speaker's apartments, but before he reached them, all signs of life had departed. Mr. Perceval's corpse was placed upon a bed, and Mr. Lynn, of Great George-street, who had been sent for, arrived, but too late even to witness the last symptoms of expiring existence. He found that the ball, which was of an unusually large size, had penetrated the heart near its centre, and had passed completely through it. From thence the body was removed to the Speaker's drawing-room, by Mr. Lynn and several Members, and it was laid on the sopha.—The horror occasioned by the assassination prevented any attention from being paid to other persons, and it was not until the Right Hon. Gentleman was raised from the floor that a person belonging to the Vote Office exclaimed, "Where is the rascal that fired?" when a person of the name of Bellingham, who had been unobserved, stepped up to him, and coolly observed, "I am the unfortunate man." He did not make any attempt to escape, though he had thrown away the pistol by which he had perpetrated the horrid deed, but resigned himself quietly into the hands of some of the bye-standers. They placed him upon a bench near the fire-place, where they kept him, and all the doors were closed, and the egress of any persons prevented. When the assassin was interrogated as to his motive for this dreadful act, he replied, "My name is Bellingham; it is a private injury—I know what I have done—It was a denial of justice on the part of Government." At this time the prisoner was in no legal custody, but was surrounded by many Members, who insisted that he should be taken into the body of the House. The criminal was however previously searched, to which he made no resistance, and upon his person were found a steel pistol, loaded, about seven inches in length (the fellow to that with which he had effected his fatal purpose, which had been secured) with a short screw barrel, and a bundle of papers folded like letters. Two Messengers, Wright and Skelton, then conveyed the prisoner to the Bar of the House of Commons, where the utmost confusion and anxiety prevailed. The Speaker had quitted the Chair, but on hearing the afflicting intelligence, he returned and resumed his seat. Order having been restored, General Gascoyne said in an audible voice, "I think I know the villain," and walking up to the assassin, and looking in his face inquired, "Is not your name Bellingham?" He returned no answer, but by shaking his head, and stood afterwards motionless, and apparently composed, resting his hands upon the Bar, and looking directly forwards to the Chair.

The SPEAKER then proposed that the criminal should be conveyed to the prison-room, and that a Magistrate should be sent for to receive the examination of the witnesses of the shocking transaction.—*(Hear, hear!)*—He also stated, that in order that the prisoner might be less able to attempt an escape, or a rescue be effected by accomplices, it would be fit that he should be conducted to the place of confinement, not through the lobby where the murder had been perpetrated, but through the private avenues round the House.

This proposal was highly approved, and the Speaker further said, that it might render the detention of the criminal more secure if Members would precede, in order to see that all the passages were clear.

A great many Gentlemen immediately rose to comply with the request, when

Mr. WHITBREAD, in a tone of voice which betrayed the difficulty he felt in commanding his feelings, observed that to prevent confusion it would be better if those Members who should go before for the purpose of seeing that the passages were clear were named from the Chair, or the eagerness of all to fulfil the undertaking would prevent its proper execution. *(Hear!)*

The SPEAKER added, that it would be right that the utmost precaution should be used, not only lest the criminal should injure others, but should attempt violence on himself.—*(Hear, hear!)*—He then named Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Long, and Mr. Boothe, who directly left the House to clear the avenues to the prison-room. The assistance of several other Messengers [illegible]

called in, who followed with Bellingham in their custody, and they were succeeded by Lord Ossulston, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Manning, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Pole, and about ten others.

The SPEAKER also directed that all Members who were Magistrates of Middlesex, as well as all persons who had witnessed any part of the transaction, should attend the Committee to examine and give evidence.

Sir C. BURREL produced the loaded pistol taken from the prisoner, and another Member the bundle of papers found in his coat pocket.—The House was then adjourned.

Tuesday, May 12.

PRINCE REGENT'S MESSAGE RELATING TO MR. PERCEVAL.

Lord CASTLEREAGH brought up a message from the Prince Regent.—*(See the Lords.)*

Lord CASTLEREAGH said he was sure that he was anticipated by the feelings of the House, and of the empire, in the sentiments of sorrow and regret which he now rose to express on a subject so painful and afflicting to the country at large. The subject might, indeed, have been brought forward by one who, from his eloquence, (Mr. Ryder) was far more able to do it justice; but as the feelings of that Hon. Gentleman were too powerful for such an effort, he trusted that he should not be thought presumptuous in venturing himself to address the House. He felt, indeed, with certainty, that no eloquence was necessary to rouse the indignation and sorrow of the House on this lamentable occasion. Whatever difference existed as to political feeling, there was but one feeling as to the atrocity of the act of assassination,—an act so abhorrent from the principles of our nature, and so new to the annals of this nation. If the House required any inducement to guide them in their decision on this question, they might contemplate the private virtues of Mr. Perceval; while at the same time it was to be recollected, that the loss now incurred was the loss of a public servant, engaged in the zealous and conscientious discharge of his duty; and that it arose from his firm and sincere conviction that the claims presented to him did not deserve the notice of Parliament, which had now subjected him to the resentment and revenge of a disappointed individual. The Noble Lord then observed, that he was happy to state, that from all the information which Government had been hitherto able to collect, the fact committed was an insulated fact,—that whatever reproach attached to it, attached only to the individual who committed it; and so far the national character remained without a stain. The Noble Lord then proceeded to observe, that there was no Assembly in which the storms of party more immediately subsided, than in that Assembly which he had now the honour to address. No man would feel, however opposite his political opinions might be, that it would be any abandonment of his principles, if on the present occasion he should turn aside entirely from any consideration of points of contest, and look only to the afflicted state of the family of the deceased.—(*Cries of hear, hear.*)—Mr. Perceval had left a lucrative profession, in which he must have attained to the highest honours and opulence, by the exertion of those eminent talents which had raised him so much in the public estimation. He (Lord C.) could say from personal knowledge, that it was from a sense of public duty alone, and with the utmost reluctance, that he was persuaded to apply himself to public life; and there could be no doubt, that if he had remained in the exercise of his profession, that his family might have been crowned with opulence, and blessed with such a father.—(*Here his Lordship seemed much affected.*)—He was convinced that he was only speaking the public feeling, when he asserted, that there never was a man who conciliated to himself a greater quantity of personal esteem.—(*Loud cries of hear, hear, from all parts of the House.*)—Indeed, he would venture to say, that there did not exist a man who was an enemy to him as an individual—(*Hear, hear.*)—He had no doubt of the concurrence of Parliament in the recognition of this principle, that unless there has been some base misconduct on the part of the public servant, it became the duty of the House to extend its protection to such servants. The Parliament could never interfere more wisely than for the purpose of protecting those trusts, the faithful discharge of which might possibly subject a man to public or private malignity. The recognition of such a principle would be advantageous to the public service, and was a duty not to be neglected under the most economical arrangements.—(*Hear, hear.*)—He sincerely felt that he was only weakening the impression already entertained by the House, by expatiating on this subject. At present he merely wished the House to recognize the principal of the Regent's Message. The particular nature of the grant proposed would be taken into consideration on a future day. He would merely state thus much, that it would be the object of the grant to protect the family individually from poverty,—(*hear, hear,*)—instead of a single grant to one individual, which, on his death, might be lost to the family. It would also provide such an annuity for the afflicted widow as might produce convenience at least, where consolation was impossible. He then moved,

"That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to return his Royal Highness their grateful thanks for his Royal Highness's most gracious Message: To assure his Royal Highness that they deeply participate in the severe loss his Royal Highness and the country have sustained in consequence of the murder of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, First Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; of which most atrocious act, committed within the walls of Parliament, they cannot, in terms sufficiently strong, express their abhorrence; and being desirous of marking their sense of the public and private virtues of Mr. Perceval, and of affording relief and assistance to his numerous and afflicted family, they beg leave humbly to assure his Royal Highness, that they will feel it a grateful act of public duty, under the melancholy circumstances of this afflicting case, to enable his Royal Highness, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to make such provision for the widow and family of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, as may be consistent with the justice and liberality of Parliament."

Mr. PONSONBY said, he felt a real anxiety to second the motion. The honour of the House and the country was concerned in shewing, that no variation of principle could prevent an entire participation in the indignant feeling excited by such an atrocity.—(*Hear, hear.*)—He was happy to hear the statement made by the noble Lord, that the national character was unhinted with this act,—that it was to be referred solely to an individual. It was the great advantage of a free Government that every one had an opportunity and a right of freely expressing his opinion. It was the duty of every individual enjoying this right, to express his opinion, however different it might be to the views and policy of others; and if a man was to suffer for a free, honest, conscientious avowal of his sentiments, the morals of the people must, indeed, be debased; and they no better animals than under a state of despotism. Let every Englishman, then, express his horror of such principles. He entirely agreed with the Noble Lord, that it was the duty of Parliament to interfere, to protect the servants of the public. He agreed in the principle of the Bill; it was his sincere wish that no part of the family of Mr. Perceval should suffer in poverty.—(*Hear, hear.*)—Though he widely differed from Mr. Perceval in political questions, no man entertained an higher opinion of his honour, nor a warmer affection for his person.—(*Hear, hear!*)—He never knew a man of more worth; and did not believe that there existed one who was more to be esteemed in the various relations of husband, father, brother, and friend.—(*Hear, hear.*)—As it was impossible to restore to his family the comforts to be derived from his existence, it was the duty of Parliament to do its utmost to render the remnant of their lives comfortable.—(*Mr. P. sat down seemingly greatly affected.*)

Mr. CANNING said, he trusted he should be pardoned for the trouble given to the House, if even after the speeches already heard he should rise to express his entire concurrence with the sentiments which they contained, and to join in that testimony of respectful sorrow already so ably pronounced on his departed friend. Of that deceased friend he would say, that there never existed a man more uniformly amiable. None of those who acted with him heard him speak without having their own opinions confirmed by his judgment and sanctioned by his vir-

tues; and none differed from him without thinking that his errors were the errors of a virtuous mind. It was a great consolation to consider, that the crime which had deprived the country of this ornament was the act of a solitary individual. The Noble Lord had acted justly and wisely in making this communication to the House, as it would on one hand prevent the misrepresentations of the disaffected, and on the other, quiet the misapprehensions of those who seeing a danger, might mistake a symptom for a proof. He entirely agreed with the abhorrence expressed in the motion, and in the proposed remuneration. The loss of Mr. Perceval was irreparable to his country—it was irreparable to his family, except so far as pecuniary aid could compensate. When we recollect how often, during the last two years, we have listened with pleasure to his voice, when he has been calling on Parliament to reward great public services, we ought to embrace with eagerness this lamentable but fit opportunity of marking by our generosity, our wish to reward his services, and to try as far as possible to alleviate the sorrows of a deeply afflicted family.—(*Cries of hear, hear.*)

Mr. WHITBREAD said, it would be totally unnecessary for him to say a word on the merits of the motion, after the very able and eloquent manner in which it had been brought forward, and seconded by the Noble Lord and his Right Hon. Friend; but as he had frequently been an active and open opponent of the Right Hon. Gentleman in that House, he wished to be indulged with a few words. It would be needless for him to say any thing which might mark his private virtues: he (Mr. W.) believed them to be most numerous and extensive; and they were too well known to require from him the smallest panegyric. Among the many public virtues which he possessed, there was one which he and the House had very often witnessed, and which he had as often admired, which was, that amidst the great diversity of subjects whereon he was continually drawn into argument, he always preserved a perfectly liberal and unceasing control of temper. However he (Mr. W.) might, on various occasions, have differed with him in opinion, he could truly aver, that, beyond the doors of that House, he (Mr. W.) never carried a single particle of political animosity against the Right Hon. Gentleman, whose loss he sincerely felt and deeply deplored. He concurred most cordially in the motion.

The question was then put, and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. W. WYNNE proposed that the whole House should go up with it; which was put and agreed to *nem. con.*

Lord CASTLEREAGH then moved that the Message be referred to a Committee of the whole House.

Sir R. WIGRAM then rose and delivered a very warm panegyric on the numerous virtues and excellent character of Mr. Perceval, with whom he went to school: even in the period of boyish youth, he was honoured and respected by the masters, and universally beloved by all his schoolfellows. Under the strong and favourable impressions so deeply engraved on his memory and affections, he could not avoid expressing a hope that the House would vote a public funeral.

It was then ordered, *nem. con.* that the Message be referred to a Committee of the whole House.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, May 13.

General GASCOYNE presented a Petition from various Gentlemen, Clergymen, Merchants, and Traders of Liverpool, praying that in discussing the subject of the Orders in Council, the House would not be induced by popular clamour to repeal them, "if they should be found to promote the Commercial prosperity of the country."—Laid on the table.

MR. PERCEVAL'S FAMILY.

Lord CASTLEREAGH moved that a Committee be appointed to propose an Address in reply to the Regent's Message.

Sir F. BURDETT said, that not being in the House yesterday, he took this opportunity of expressing his abhorrence at the most atrocious assassination of Mr. Perceval. He was anxious that the Address should be presented to the Sovereign unalloyed by any other considerations than those of detestation of the crime and grief for its perpetration.—(*Hear, hear!*)—It was a subject which concerned the safety of every individual in the country, and upon which there could be only one wish for unanimity. Mean party and personal politics should not be mixed with such a question, which ought for a time to put an end to every other consideration. At the same time, he wished to be understood as not pledging himself to any particular line of conduct when the House went into the Committee. He rose merely to perform a public duty,—that of concurring as strongly as any man in the fullness of lamentation and abhorrence of the most atrocious deed committed within their walls.—(*Hear, hear!*)

A Committee was then appointed to prepare the Address, among whom were Messrs. CANNING, RYDER, PONSONBY, WHITBREAD, Sir V. GIBBS, and Lord CASTLEREAGH, who withdrew, and shortly returned with an Address founded on the Message, which was agreed to.

The Regent's Message relative to Mr. Perceval's family being read,

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, the House was aware that in addition to the widow of Mr. Perceval, the number of children left to the protection of the House and the country amounted to 12, who should be provided for in a manner suitable to their own rank, and to the eminent services of their unfortunate parent. It would be better, therefore, that the provision for the children should be made by a grant of a sum of money, for if given in the form of annuity, Providence might deprive them of a part of the money so appropriated. Under all the circumstances, therefore, he thought that 50,000*l.* should be divided among the younger branches, and that Mrs. Perceval should have an annuity of 2000*l.*; less than which would not be consistent either with her rank, or the merits of her lamented husband.—His Lordship then moved, "That a sum not exceeding 50,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to be vested in trustees for the use of the 12 children of the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval." Lord Castlereagh here explained, that the provision Mr. Perceval had left for his family was so moderate, as not to leave a possibility of their living in a suitable style, for nearly all the property remaining was out of Mrs. Perceval's marriage fortune; so liberally had Mr. Perceval dispensed the fruits of his labour, and so little calculated was his generous disposition for the task of laying up wealth for his successors.

Mr. HERBERT thought Mr. Perceval's eldest son should have an additional 10,000*l.*

Mr. H. SUMNER was of opinion, that 4,000*l.* to each of the children was wholly inadequate, even for their education. It was barely putting them above want. Had Mr. Perceval not left his profession, he might have died possessed of a large fortune. Instead of this petty grant, the children should have at least 6 or 7,000*l.* each. Unworthy parsimony, in such a case, would degrade the House in the eye of the world.

Mr. WILBERFORCE admitted, that it was not possible to consider the proposed vote as an adequate remuneration.—Whatever were the political opinions of many, no one had ever refused to pay a merited tribute to the private character of that *great man*. Still, an unanimous vote was to be desired; and under all the circumstances, he thought that the sum proposed was the judicious medium. He had known Mr. Perceval nearly 35 years, and he never saw a person placed in such a dignified situation who so instinctively obeyed the impulse of duty and conscience. A man of more real sweetness of temper, a man more highly blessed by nature,—was never known.

Mr. WHITBREAD and Mr. WYNNE were in favour of the original proposal.

Lord CASTLEREAGH's motion was then carried unanimously. His lordship then moved, that the annual sum of 2000*l.* be granted from the consolidated fund, to be paid to Jane Perceval, relict of the late Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval, for her natural life.

This motion was also carried unanimously: after which, Mr. H. SUMNER moved, that after the words "Jane Perceval," there be inserted, "and at her decease to the next heir, being a male descendant, and having attained the age of 21 years."

Mr. WHITBREAD opposed the motion:—enough had been done:—to agree to it might be considered as an admission that he approved of Mr. Perceval's administration.—(*No, No.*)

Mr. WILBERFORCE, Mr. CANNING, Mr. RYDER, and Lord CASTLEREAGH, for the sake of unanimity, would vote for the Speaker's leaving the chair.—This motion was put and negatived; and Mr. Sumner's was then carried by a majority of 136 to 23.

The House then examined some witnesses, on the Orders in Council, and afterwards adjourned.

Thursday, May 14.

ADDRESS AND ANSWER.

At half past two, the Members proceeded to Carlton-house with their Address, and on their return, the SPEAKER read the following Answer from the Regent;—

"I receive with satisfaction the assurance that you will enable me to provide for the widow and family of the late Right Honourable Spencer Perceval. It is a most beneficial mode of disposing of the public money, and one most gratifying to my feelings, in marking with peculiar distinction the family of an individual, whose talents and virtues have been snatched by an act of unparalleled atrocity from the service of his country.

MR. PERCEVAL'S FAMILY.

The House then proceeded to consider the Resolutions for providing for the family of Mr. Perceval. The first and second resolutions were agreed to *nem. con.*—On the third being read,

Mr. HUSKISSON said, that the eldest son of Mr. Perceval was a young man of the most promising abilities, and the House must be aware that 200*l.* a year was quite insufficient to educate him at the University, and maintain his proper rank. He thought a grant of 1000*l.* a year should be made for him.

Mr. W. SMITH thought the discussion should be postponed for a week, when the House would be more cool upon it.—Enough had been done, but he should not give a vote at all.

Mr. W. FITZGERALD said, that Mr. Perceval had ruined his fortune for the public service; and the House ought to place his children far above the reach of want.

Mr. TIERNEY was of opinion, that the House ought not thus hastily to vote away the public money. He therefore should move, that this resolution be considered that day se'nnight.

Sir G. WARRENDER opposed the delay. It was their duty to place the son of Mr. Perceval in such a state of independence as would enable him to tread in the steps of his father.

Mr. WHITBREAD thought it became the House to mark their abhorrence of the late atrocious deed, by making such a provision for the family of Mr. Perceval, as had been originally submitted. But when it was proposed to go beyond this, he could consider it in no other light than as a reward for political services.—(*No, no, from several Members*)—And indeed he should be a traitor to his country, and be declaring loudly that all the opposition which he had always maintained to the measures of the present Administration, was nothing more than mere empty profession, if he did not loudly protest against such a reward. Without wishing to say any thing unpleasant, he would ask, if it was not reward, what was it? What was the career of Mr. Perceval? His career was altogether of his own selection. He obtained a seat in that House by honourable means; but if he took a seat in the House and afterwards accepted of the situation of Prime Minister, it was altogether his own selection.—He might have accepted it, or have refused it; he could not be compelled to quit the Bar. They had heard a great deal said respecting the lucrative situation which Mr. Perceval quitted. His information on this subject was somewhat different. He had been told that lucrative judicial situations had been offered to Mr. Perceval, and that he chose rather to retain the situations which he held at his death. He thought the mention which had been made that night of the abilities of the eldest son of Mr. Perceval, of which the House could know nothing but from report; and the intention of making him independent at the age of 21, were only calculated to injure the young man. If this was not a reward for political services, he was intitled to inquire into the situation of the family. He was told that Mrs. Perceval possessed an income of 2,000*l.* per annum independent of the grant of Parliament; so that the interest of the provision of 50,000*l.* with this private fortune, and the annual grant of 2,000*l.* would constitute an income of 6,500*l.* for the purpose of maintaining and educating this family. Would any country gentleman, with such an income, consider it inadequate to educate his family to any profession or situation in life whatever? He understood the House was to be called upon to-morrow to vote a monument for Mr. Perceval. These things grow upon us very fast—(*Hear!*)—He would conclude with solemnly protesting against the additional grant.

Lord CASTLEREAGH should not do justice to the Honourable Gentleman if he did not say that he had shewn as warm a concern on the late melancholy occurrence, as it was possible for any person to display; but the Honourable Gentleman had given a very imperfect representation of the circumstances, under which his late Right Honourable Friend had left his profession. It was the decided conviction of his own mind, that by complying with a desire which he conceived to be mandatory on him, he was sacrificing the interests of his family. The House might recollect that shortly after the period when his Right Honourable Friend accepted his situation, his Majesty did intend, by a grant, to mitigate that sacrifice; but his Right Honourable Friend stept in on that occasion between the intention of that grant and the execution of it. This virtuous sacrifice of his late Right Honourable Friend, was a feature in his character which ought to call forth the liberality of Parliament towards his family. At the period when he left his profession, it would be admitted he left it with a high degree of professional character. He had the future prospect of great professional emoluments, and his profits at the time were actually very liberal. He had to state from Mr. Perceval's family, that they entertained the deepest sense of the liberality of Parliament.

Mr. LUSHINGTON.—"I will mention a circumstance deeply calculated to impress the feelings of the House. I saw Lord Arden, the brother of Mr. Perceval, overwhelmed with grief, and his hand placed upon his body, near the part where the fatal wound was inflicted:—'My brother!' he exclaimed, 'you are gone! you are gone to Heaven! but your children——.' 'His children,' replied an Honourable Member standing by, 'are his country's!'—I hope this declaration will be verified, and that the liberality of Parliament will protect them in a manner adequate to the occasion."

After some further conversation it was agreed that the Resolution should be recommitted to-morrow.

The House then went into a Committee to examine witnesses upon the Orders in Council; after which the Orders of the Day were disposed of, when the House adjourned.

Friday, May 15.

MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF MR. PERCEVAL.

Lord CLIVE moved, that an Address be presented to the Regent, praying that he would be pleased to order a Monument to be erected in St. Peter's, Westminster, to the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, as a mark of the deep sense which the House entertains of his public and private virtues, and of its abhorrence of the act by which he fell.

The motion was carried by a majority of 199 to 26, though opposed by Mr. LAMBE, Mr. WHITBREAD, Mr. C. WYNNE, Lord MILTON, and Mr. ELLIOT, on the ground that such a vote would look like an approval of the public services of the late Minister.

It was also carried, that Mr. Perceval's eldest son should have an annuity of 1000*l.* to commence from his father's death, and to continue during his mother's life.—Adjourned till Wednesday.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

This Gazette contains Extracts from the Dispatches from Lord Wellington, dated Alfayates, April 24, and Fuente Guinaldo, April 29.—They merely announce the retreat of the French under Marmont on the approach of his Lordship, who says, "The partial success over the Portuguese militia on their retreat from Guarda, and the murder and

plunder of the inhabitants of a few villages in Lower Beira, already suffering from the enemy's former depredations, are the only fruits of Marshal Marmont's expedition within the Portuguese frontier, to divert our attention from the siege of Badajoz." Lord Wellington adds, that Seville had not been entered by the Spaniards, but that Soult was in that city on the 21st of April.

It also contains accounts of the destruction of L'Avanturier French privateer, of 14 guns and 60 men,—and the capture of the Indefatigable French lugger, of 23 men: the former by the Franchise, and the latter by the Pioneer schooner and Decoy cutter.

BANKRUPTS.

S. Carter, Wood-street, glover.
T. Andrews, Brewham Lodge, Somersetshire, farmer.
D. Horton, Birmingham, gilt-toy-maker.
W. Marsh, Denmark-street, goldsmith.
G. H. Bynon, Plymouth-dock, grocer.
W. Lanham, Bath, baker.
J. Spencer, Malmesbury, Wiltshire, innholder.
W. Bloore, Paul-street, timber-merchant.
B. Chaffy, Norton-under-Hambden, sailcloth-maker.
W. and J. Scales, Burton-Smithies, Yorkshire, cotton-spinners.
C. C. Bartlett and J. Burt, Norton-under-Hambden, tinmen.
R. Ewans, Watton-Underidge, Gloucestershire, maltster.
J. Nelson, and F. A. Sturges, Bow-lane, warehousemen.
F. Richards, and W. Boud, Upper Thames-street, hat-manufacturers.
J. Hill, Rotherhithe-wall, victualler.
J. Kelly, Bank Top, Yorkshire, innholder.
T. Dykes, Great East Cheap, chocolate-maker.
H. Doggrell, Milton, cheese-dealer.
R. Fell, Harton, Durham, insurance-broker.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTS.

D. Baylis, Stroud, Gloucester, clothier.
R. V. Windsor and G. W. Shury, Chancery-lane, stationers.
P. V. An, Water-lane, Tower-street, merchant.
J. Wall, Broad-court, Long-acre, Taylor.
T. Gaskell, Liverpool, rag-merchant.
R. Holcroft jun. J. Pickering, Warrington, upholsterers.
R. Machell, Liverpool, merchant.
S. Lawrence, Stepney-green, Middlesex, carpenter.
R. Cutbill, Wood-street, Spital-fields, silk-manufacturer.
T. Dod, Liverpool, butcher.
H. Sandwich, Blackbeck, Lancashire, carrier.
R. White, Cradley, Herefordshire, corn-dealer.
D. Phillips, Bristol, haberdasher.
T. F. Carlile, Pudsey, Yorkshire, drysalter.
J. Ellison, North Shields, draper.
W. Powell, Castle-court, Birchin-lane, bill-broker.
J. Howse, Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire, dealer and chapman.
John Twigg, Ludgate-street, lacemau.
John Robinson, Bristol, victualler.
William Lum, Saint Mary-at-Hill, slopseller.
John Gely, West Cowes, Isle of Wight, shipbuilder.
George Donadieu, Temple place, blue-maker.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

Consols..... .....60⅞ 61

NOTICE.—On Sunday week the price of the *Examiner* will be advanced one penny.—Since its first publication,—little more than four years,—the Proprietors have been assailed by four Treasury Prosecutions, in three of which they have been triumphant: the fourth has just commenced. Our Readers need not be told that these struggles with Power are very expensive; for such is the blindness of Official Justice, that an acquittal is quite as costly as a conviction. Thus the Proprietors have been already three times heavily fined for their innocence; and as there appears to be no end to this legal extortion, they can prepare themselves for its effects by no other means than this advance of price. Other Weekly Papers, even those that were pledged to receive no advertisements, amply repay themselves for every extraordinary demand on their finances by opening their columns to those profitable articles; but the *Examiner* cannot but adhere strictly to its first promise, and the Proprietors can safely affirm, that from its outset to the present hour, not one penny has been received for any insertion whatever.—The advance will make the price of the Paper 9½d., and will not take place till Sunday week, in order that those Subscribers who may disapprove it, may have due time to give their instructions to the Newsmen.

The various EXHIBITIONS, next week, with the Communications of W. C. Mr. HECTOR CAMPBELL, and other Articles.

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, MAY 17.

THE wretched assassin of Mr. PERCEVAL has been tried and found guilty, as every body expected; for there does not appear to have been the least trait of insanity in the general conduct of his life, with the exception perhaps of some turbulent proceedings when abroad, which were owing no doubt, like his last enormity, to a mind naturally sullen and of strong passions brooding over it's real or imaginary wrongs. It is impossible to ascertain from his own statements whether he had been injured or not: his own account, besides being confused, is at best but one side of the question: and from what he has perpetrated, it is easy to imagine that his temper of mind may have originally taken a sullen and erroneous view of the difficulties that pressed upon him, till his passions fermenting for years in the heat and impatience of increasing trouble, vented themselves at last in this dreadful explosion. It is possible that he may have been ill-treated, in the first instance; and if he was, the event may afford a terrible lesson to the person who first set such a temper at work, perhaps by a fit of momentary impatience, or by neglecting to look at a paper;—but it is most likely that his troubles were brought upon himself, for even upon his own statements, not one out of all the respectable individuals to whom he applied, with Mr. PERCEVAL among them, thought proper to countenance his claims; and the way which he took to satisfy what he called justice, shewed that he had as wrong notions of what he might do himself as of what others might be doing towards him. The real cause of his whole conduct, from first to last, is most probably to be traced to bad habits and passions contracted in early youth, nurtured perhaps by the mistaken fondness or rather the indolent selfishness of parents, and increased from sufferance to sufferance, and from indulgence to indulgence, till at last nothing that obstructed his wishes was to be borne, and he perishes amidst the misery and destruction of others. This may appear to be taking too much for granted in the present instance; but we do not say that it really has been so: we only say that in the absence of other reasons, we have a right and ought to account for it in this manner. We are persuaded, that if the lives of nine-tenths of the persons who suffer punishment for their crimes could be traced back to their infancy, their miseries and those which they inflict on their fellow-creatures could be traced back along with them. The infant is the promise and picture of the man; and many a toy, that has been kicked and destroyed out of the way in a fit of childish rage, has been the prototype of a human being displaced in the same manner years afterwards.

There is but one instance, we believe, of an assassination of this kind perpetrated by an Englishman,—that of VILLIERS, the minion of JAMES the First, by an officer who had been disappointed of promotion. The attempt to kill HARLEY, Earl of Oxford, the Minister of Queen ANNE, though on pretences of official ill-usage, was made by a French adventurer. Since that period, attacks of this nature have been singularly confined to the person of the present KING, and as singularly they have been made by individuals who had similar infirmities with his MAJESTY and who are now in the same state of confinement. DESPARD indeed may be reckoned an exception; but it is certainly the opinion of a great number of people that he ought not to have been so. It accords best with the policy, as well as the dignity and reason of a Government like our's, to attribute such attacks to a distempered imagination, particularly where there are great reasons to make the conclusion probable. It acted wisely in this respect with HADFIELD and MARGARET NICHOLSON, and would have acted more than wisely had it proceeded in the same manner with DESPARD, for it is clear that he had been monstrously used, and it seems equally clear that the usage had made him mad; unless we are to think it a rational thing for a gentleman to go raising public conspiracies against his Sovereign in a tap-room, without an atom of influence or money, and with none but a few bricklayers to seize the Park and the Tower, and revolutionize the nation. Actual perpetration may make a difference in the inclination of one's feelings, with regard to what appears lenient or otherwise; and it may even strike us, on second thoughts, that a person resolved on assassination might feign a previous insanity, in order to avoid the punishment; but we shall have reason to conclude, at last, that the better mode, both for the sake of government and for the punishment of the offender, is to lean to the imputation of madness, for,—if such a term is to be allowed on such an occasion,—an air of the ridiculous or the sottish is thus thrown on the spirit of the thing, and he who has sufficient impatience and desperation of mind to become an assassin, may reasonably be supposed to care less for existence than for a life of imprisonment. As to the assassination itself, considered as deed of a being with all his faculties about him, nobody who is well informed can doubt its inutility with regard to any great or public objects to which it may pretend; and nobody who is well educated in these times, or at all imbued with a distrust of his own reason and nature, can consider it in any other light than that of a crime, equally absurd and atrocious. There are exceptions, it is true, to this maxim, as to all others:—Ancient times, by reason of the great difference of their customs and ways of thinking, demand a more cautious opinion with respect to those employers of the dagger, who have figured in history as avengers of liberty;—if the intention of the thing was proved to be good, and the execution of it necessary, it was considered a noble exploit; and therefore, supposing the goodness of intention, it is impossible to regard such men as Harmodius and Aristogeton, Brutus, Dion, &c. as any other than great and glorious patriots. A state of sheer anarchy also must have its allowances. In times of utter confusion, when government is nothing but a string of violent usurpations, and when the rulers are nothing perhaps but so many assassins themselves, using only the public sword instead of a dagger, it would be unjust to stigmatise as the worst of murderers those who should fancy that they could benefit their country by a blow. But in modern times, and especially in these present times and in this country, there is so much opinion to trample under foot, so many good social habits, of education, and intercourse, and moral feeling, to break through, before a man can bring himself to become an assassin, especially if he moves in a decent sphere as Bellingham has done, that he must be concluded in general, to have had a previous turn for violent and villainous actions, and is to be handed over to the law and to infamy with due detestation, for a rare and enormous offence that tends to nourish cowardice and the bad passions, and that brings disgrace on his age and nation.

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MR. PERCEVAL'S FUNERAL.—The remains of Mr. Perceval were yesterday morning removed from his house in Downing-street. The ceremony commenced at nine o'clock, and the body, deposited in a plain hearse, was taken to Charlton, in Kent. The hearse was drawn by six horses, and was followed by five mourning-coaches, with six horses each, in which were Lord Arden, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Secretary Ryder, Lord Redesdale, Lord Perceval, Marquis Wellesley, the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Camden, and the Earl Buckinghamshire, and two or three other Noblemen. The family carriage followed, and after them were 21 coaches, in which they were the pall-bearers and other mourners.

Mr. LYTTLETON.—There was a mis-statement in last week's paper respecting this Gentleman's conduct on the late discussion of the question of Parliamentary Reform. Instead of joining the Minister against Reform, Mr. L. both spoke and voted *for* Mr. BRAND's Motion. He was even one of the *Tellers* on that occasion.

ASSASSINATION OF MR. PERCEVAL.

On Monday, as the Prime Minister was proceeding into the House of Commons, at about a quarter past five, he was mortally wounded by a pistol ball, fired by a man of the name of *Bellingham*. The assassin was seized and conducted to the bar of the House (as detailed in the Parliamentary Proceedings), from whence the wretched creature was conveyed into the Committee Room, when an examination took place before Mr. Alderman Combe and other Magistrates—during the whole of which time he maintained the utmost composure.

After *Mr. Burgess*, *General Gascoigne*, and *Mr. Hume*, had been examined (their evidence is given below, when before the Coroner), the prisoner was asked whether he had any thing to say upon the last depositions? He stated, that when Gen. Gascoigne seized him, he held him with so much violence, that he was apprehensive his arm would be broken, and that he then said, "You need not press me, I submit myself to justice."

Mr. Jardan, of Cromwell Cottage, Old Brompton, stated, that a few minutes after five o'clock he was proceeding up the stone steps to the door of the lobby; Mr. Perceval was immediately before him—he saw him push open the lobby door and enter—almost instantaneously he heard the report of a pistol within the lobby, and rushed forward to the spot. He saw Mr. Perceval walk slowly to the centre of the lobby, suddenly stagger, and sink down. Seeing several persons run to raise and support him, he directed his attention to the prisoner, who was pointed out by some person, who exclaimed, "that is the man!" Mr. Perceval cried, "I am murdered!" and uttered two groans; he also clapped his hand to his breast, and was subsequently borne to the Secretary's room. In the mean time

witness seeing the prisoner wholly unsecured, and retreating towards the bench, seized him by the collar, and never quitted his hold till he was conveyed into the House of Commons.—Upon many Members running from the House, and calling out —"Who did it? who did it?"—the prisoner replied, "I am the unfortunate man—I wish I were in Mr. Perceval's place." He repeated, more than once, "I am the unfortunate man." Upon the great pressure around him, he said, "I submit myself to the laws," or, "I submit to justice." Witness also saw Mr. Dowling search the pockets of the prisoner.

Mr. Dowling produced the loaded pistol which he had taken from the breeches pocket of the prisoner.

The prisoner was asked what he had to say against the fact with which he was charged, and was cautioned by Sir John Cox Hippisley not to say any thing that would be injurious to himself.

The prisoner spoke to the following effect:—"I have admitted the fact—I admit the fact; but wish, with permission, to state something in my justification. I have been denied the redress of my grievances by Government; I have been ill-treated. They all know who I am, and what I am, through the Secretary of State and Mr. Becket, with whom I have had frequent communications. They knew of this fact six weeks ago, through the Magistrates of Bow-street. I was accused most wrongfully by a Governor-General in Russia, in a letter from Archangel to Riga, and have sought redress in vain. I am a most unfortunate man, and feel here (placing his hand on his breast) sufficient justification for what I have done."

Upon being again questioned, he repeated, "I admit the fact;" which admission was accordingly entered upon the record. The Bow-street Officers were called in, and the prisoner handcuffed. He applied for his money, which having been left in the possession of Mr. Burgess, Mr. Whitbread assured him he should have it returned to him. He also asked whether he should be allowed an Attorney and Counsel? when Mr. Whitbread signified to him that Mr. Combe would take care that every necessary indulgence should be allowed him, consistent with his situation. In no part of the proceeding did he betray extreme agitation; but at the moment that one of the witnesses said, "I supported Mr. Perceval into the Secretary's room, and in a few minutes he died in my arms," the prisoner shed tears, and seemed much affected.

Before the arrival of the Life Guards he was re-conducted to the prison-room, where he found much fault with Vickery, the officer, for having inquired from some female something relative to his private affairs. After the examination, a hackney coach was brought to the iron gates in Lower Palace-yard; but the crowd, which was at first composed of decent people, had been gradually swelled by a concourse of pick-pockets and the lower orders, who mounted the coach, and were so exceedingly troublesome and even dangerous, that it was not deemed advisable to send him to Newgate in the manner intended. There were some shouts of applause from the ignorant or depraved part of the crowd, as if they were hailing an innocent victim; one or two of whom even mixed with their shouts the cry of "Burdett for ever!" and "Bellingham for ever!"—A party of Life Guards arrived about this time, and formed a semi-circle in Lower Palace-yard, by which the mob were kept at a distance. It was however thought more prudent to send him away by another outlet, and avoid all confusion. He was therefore taken out by the Speaker's entrance, and conveyed to the Secretary of State's Office for the Home Department, where he was placed in a room, in which he walked nearly the whole time. On the breaking up of the Council he was sent to Newgate, where he was double ironed. His time on Tuesday morning was employed in writing a letter to a friend at Liverpool, which consisted of three sides of a quarto sheet of paper, written with apparent correctness. He states that he drew the pistol from his right hand breeches-pocket. He has made particular inquiry of the keeper as to what direction the ball took. Being asked whether there was any other person close to him when he fired, or between him and Mr. Perceval, he replied, there was none, or he should have been fearful of firing.

The Sheriffs, upon receiving the mournful intelligence, proceeded to the Mansion-house, and after a conference with the Lord Mayor, on the steps necessary to be taken for the tranquillity of the City, went together to Newgate, at eleven o'clock at night, for the purpose of instructing the Keeper as to every essential precaution to prevent the assassin having any possible means of self-destruction, and arranging the apartment for his reception. Three men sat up with the prisoner.

A Cabinet Council was summoned, and the departure of the Post was delayed, till dispatches could be made out, and instructions prepared for the Civil and Military Authorities in every part of the United Kingdom, in order that seasonable steps may be taken for preserving the peace throughout the country.—The intelligence spread with amazing rapidity, and before six o'clock the crowd collected was so great, that it was deemed prudent to close the doors of Westminster Hall, as well as to plant constables at the entrances to prevent a concourse within the passages of the House. Ingress was denied to all persons but Members and witnesses. The multitude kept augmenting every minute, and at length it was resolved, in order to ensure tranquillity, and to produce a dispersion of the mob, that the Horse Guards should be called out. They accordingly left their quarters, and paraded in Old and New Palace-yard, and in St. Margaret and Parliament-street, until a late hour. The gates of St. James's Park were closed about eight o'clock, where the Foot Guards were drawn out, and the City Militia, as well as several bodies of Volunteers, were called on to preserve the peace of the Metropolis.

The Right Hon. Spencer Perceval was second son of the late Lord Egmont, by Catherine, third daughter of the Hon. Charles Compton. He was born on the 1st of November, 1762, and was therefore in the 50th year of his age. He was married in August, 1790, to Jane, second daughter of Sir Thomas Wilson, Bart. by whom he had 12 children.

Mrs. Perceval was on a visit to Mrs. Ryder, Lady of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in Great George-street, Westminster, at the time the melancholy catastrophe happened; but on returning home, soon after five o'clock, was apprised of the event.

Mrs. Perceval's situation for many hours after she received the news of Mr. Perceval's death, was such as to excite the most serious alarm in the minds of her family. Lord Redesdale, who is married to Mr. Perceval's sister, was considered as the most proper person to communicate the fatal intelligence to her. His Lordship performed the fatal task with every possible delicacy and precaution. When she was apprised of the dreadful event, she neither wept nor spoke, nor appeared to be sensible of any thing that was afterwards said to her; she remained in that state from six o'clock on Monday evening till eleven o'clock on Tuesday morning; during that interval her relations and friends endeavoured to rouse her, and, if possible, to excite her to tears, by mentioning the circumstances of Mr. Perceval's death to her, but in vain. At length her situation excited such serious apprehension, that it was determined, as the only remaining expedient, to take her to the room where Mr. Perceval lay, in the hopes that the sight would produce the desired effect. The experiment succeeded—the moment she saw the body, she burst into tears.

The assassin, Bellingham, is a tall large-boned man, with a thin long visage and aquiline nose; his eyes are sunken, and his complexion sallow. He is stated to be a native of St. Neot's, in Huntingdonshire, and aged 42 years.

The following letter was on Tuesday morning sent by Mr. Bellingham to Mrs. Roberts, No. 9, New Milman-street, the lady at whose house he lodged:—

"DEAR MADAM, *Tuesday Morning, Old Bailey.*

"Yesterday midnight I was escorted to this neighbourhood by a noble troop of Light Horse, and delivered into the care of Mr. Newman (by Mr. Taylor the Magistrate and M. P.) as a State Prisoner of the first class. For eight years I have never found my mind so tranquil as since this melancholy, but necessary catastrophe; as the merits or demerits of my peculiar case must be regularly unfolded in a Criminal Court of Justice to ascertain the guilty party, by a Jury of my country. I have to request the favour of you to send me three or four shirts,

some cravats, handkerchiefs, night-caps, stockings, &c. out of my drawers, together with comb, soap, tooth-brush, with any other trifle that presents itself which you think I may have occasion for, and inclose them in my leather trunk, and the key please to send sealed, per bearer;—also my great-coat, flannel gown, and black waistcoat, which will much oblige, dear Madam, your very obedient servant,

"JOHN BELLINGHAM."

"To the above please to add the Prayer Book."

Bellingham wrote a letter to the Police Magistrates, at Bow-street, (a copy of which was among the papers found upon him) in which he threatened, unless he is redressed, to take justice into his own hand, and do a deed abhorrent to his soul. It is dated 23d March, and is the same alluded to by Bellingham on his apprehension.—He has frequently declared, most solemnly, since he has been in Newgate, that he had no malice to Mr. Perceval, and that if Lord G. L. Gower or Mr. Ryder had first appeared before him, he would have fired upon either.—With respect to the manner in which he passed the previous part of the day on which he committed the murder, he states, that he went with a Lady to the European Museum, where he was detained till past four o'clock. He parted from the Lady at the extremity of Sidney's-alley, and went down immediately to the House of Commons without having dined, and with his pistols loaded. He was so anxious not to be disappointed by the failure of his weapons, that, after he had bought his pistols, for which he gave four guineas, he went to Primrose-hill to try how they would go off, and, when he had ascertained their efficacy, loaded them for his purpose.

On Tuesday night he went to rest between eleven and twelve, and was called from a sound sleep on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock. He took his breakfast about nine and had dinner at two, but in neither instance did he eat heartily. He has received some of the articles mentioned in his letter to Mrs. Roberts, together with a Prayer Book, which he occasionally looks into, particularly the Psalms.—Whenever his trial was mentioned, he declared his confidence of acquittal, if justice were done.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

The body of Mr. Perceval was removed from the Speaker's house during Monday night to his own in Downing-street; and on Tuesday morning a Jury was summoned to attend A. Gell, Esq. Coroner for Westminster, at the Rose and Crown, in Downing-street. After taking a view of the body, the following witnesses were examined:—

Henry Burgess, of Curzon-street, Mayfair, Solicitor, being sworn, saith:—Yesterday afternoon, about five, I was attending in the lobby of the House of Commons, near the Door-keeper's seat; I heard the report of a pistol apparently as if fired at the entrance of the lobby; in less than half a minute I saw a gentleman coming forward towards the door of the House, staggering; and at the same time I heard the cry of "murder, murder." This gentleman had his hand on his breast, and exclaimed, "Oh!" faintly, and fell forward on his face. I heard a cry, "that is the person," pointing to the seat near the fire-place; on which I sprang forward to the seat, and there I observed a man in extreme agitation sitting on the seat, and one or two others on his right. I immediately looked at his hands, and observed a small pistol either under his left hand or close by it; I immediately seized the pistol, and asked him what could induce him to do such a deed, or act; he immediately replied, "want of redress of grievance, and a refusal by Government," or words to that effect. I immediately said to him, "have you another pistol?" he replied, "yes." I asked him if it was loaded; and he replied, "yes." I then took several articles out of his waistcoat pockets; and some one took from his person the pistol which he before told me was loaded. The pistol which I took from him was warm, at least so far as a small pistol usually is recently fired off. In the course of the afternoon, I believe, I was the first person examined; and when my evidence was read to me, in the presence of the prisoner, on being asked if he had any remarks to make, or words to that effect, he replied, "I think Mr. Burgess's statement is correct; only I wish to observe, that instead of my hand being upon or near the pistol, I think he took it out of my hand," or words to that effect. When I first saw the prisoner he was greatly agitated; but by the time I was examined, that agitation had subsided, and he appeared to me perfectly calm.

General Isaac Gascoyne, Member for Liverpool, sworn.—About a quarter after five o'clock yesterday I was writing a letter in the Committee-room; I heard the report of a pistol shot, and jumped up, exclaiming, that it was the report of a pistol; I went down stairs; I saw a number of people standing about, and a person pointed out a man to me sitting on the bench by the fire side; the person saying that is the man who fired the pistol; I sprung upon him, and grasped him by the breast and neck; I perceived him raising his left hand with a pistol in it; I let go my hold, and seized his wrist with both hands and twisted his arm round with all my force; he seemed to have little hold of the pistol; I desired a person standing by to take the pistol from his hand, which was done. I took papers from his pocket, and tied them up: he appeared to be dragging from my hold, but I kept him fast. I delivered the papers to Mr. Hume, and then told the prisoner it was impossible he could escape: he replied, "I am the person who shot Mr. Perceval, and I surrender myself." I took him to the body of the House of Commons, and delivered him into the custody of the Messengers. The deponent farther states, that the prisoner called upon him in Hertford street, about three weeks ago, and he had a conversation with him, of nearly an hour, though he knew nothing of the prisoner. He stated that he had claims on Parliament, and asked for my parliamentary assistance, he having been a merchant at Liverpool. He represented having suffered at St. Petersburgh under a false arrest, for many months; and that he applied to the then resident Ambassador for redress, but without effect. He stated that he had lost many pounds, and wished me to bring the business before Parliament; but I did not think his case required any interference that way, and recommended him to memorialize the Ministers. During this conversation, he was as calm and collected as any man could be, and had not the least appearance of a person insane. He was much agitated yesterday, when he, the General, seized him; but before he was examined by the Committee, he was more composed; and before he went to Newgate, he was quite calm again.

Joseph Hume, Esq. Member for Weymouth, being sworn, saith:—I was sitting in the House of Commons yesterday evening, a few minutes after five, when I heard the report of a pistol, and an immediate bustle or noise; I left the House, and went into the Lobby, pushed immediately towards the fire-place; I saw a man sitting on the bench, who has since declared his name to be *John Bellingham*; he appeared to be forcibly pulled on every side by the bye-standers; appeared to suffer considerably from the force used by such bye-standers; appeared considerably agitated, and in the act of disengaging his hand from the person who grasped it severely. I seized his left arm at the moment that General Gascoyne was pulling from the person of the prisoner a bundle of papers; one of the General's hands being occupied grasping the prisoner, I seized hold of the papers from the General's right hand, informing him that I would take care of them; I still retained hold of the prisoner, and saw a person in the act of pulling from about the waist of the prisoner a small pocket steel pistol, which he immediately examined, and found primed; I desired that person to take care of it, and, on subsequent examination, I found that same pistol to contain a ball and power. I held the prisoner, and assisted to conduct him to the bar of the House.—The Speaker having directed the prisoner to be conducted to the prison-room, and all Members who had witnessed any part of the transaction to follow, I accompanied them, and attended the examination: the agitation under which the prisoner seemed at first appeared to me gradually to subside; and by the time the first deposition was taken, he was able to speak distinctly and calmly. The Magistrate, Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, told him, it was his duty to caution him not to answer any thing that might criminate himself. He answered, that he was obliged to the Magistrate, but that he would use his own

discretion. During the time I remained there, after he had heard the different depositions read over to him, he either assented to their correctness, or pointed out wherein he thought there was any difference, observing particularly on the evidence of General Gascoyne, that he could not positively correct the exact words, as the General would materially be less agitated than he was at that time, or words to that effect.

William Smith, Esq. Member for Norwich, sworn.—He deposed as follows:—Yesterday afternoon, about a quarter past five o'clock, passing through the lobby, I stopped to speak to a Gentleman, and while in conversation with him, I heard the report of a pistol. I immediately turned my head, and observed some conversation at the end of the room. Several voices called out to shut the door to prevent any person escaping. There might have been present in the lobby from thirty to forty persons. In an instant I observed a person rush from the cluster of people who were standing about the door, and come staggering towards me; he reached about the spot where I was first standing, and then fell flat on his face on the floor. I walked round him, not immediately recognising his person; and not supposing he was mortally wounded, but observing he did not stir, I stooped down to assist him, and on raising his head I perceived him to be Mr. Perceval. I then requested the assistance of a Gentleman, and we carried him into the Speaker's Secretary's-room. I think he was not only speechless but perfectly senseless, and blood came from his mouth. His pulse in a few minutes ceased; he died in less than a quarter of an hour. I am quite incapable of giving any evidence of the person who committed this horrid murder.

William Lynn, of Great George-street, Surgeon, sworn.—I was sent for yesterday afternoon, soon after five o'clock. On reaching the Speaker's Secretary's room, I found Mr. Perceval supported by two gentlemen; his body was partly on and partly off the table that was standing by; his shirt and white waistcoat were bloody; and on examining the body, I found a wound on the skin about over the fourth rib, on the left side, near the breast bone. The wound had the appearance of a large pistol ball having entered. On examining his pulse I found he was quite dead: I then passed a probe to ascertain the direction of the Ball, and found it had passed obliquely downwards, and inwards in the direction of the heart. The wound was at least three inches deep, and I have no doubt it caused his death.

Verdict of *wilful murder* against John Bellingham, alias Ballingham.

THE TRIAL OF BELLINGHAM.

On Friday, the Old Bailey Hall was crowded at an early hour, to hear the trial of the assassin.—At nine o'clock the Marquis Wellesley and other persons of high rank took their seats upon the bench, and the avenues of the Court were filled by hundreds who could not gain admission. Many ladies of rank were present, who occupied seats prepared for their reception. At ten the Duke of Clarence and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, accompanied by the other Judges, viz. Mr. Justice Grose, Baron Graham, and the Recorder, appeared, and took their seats on each side of the Lord Mayor, and immediately the prisoner was produced and placed at the Bar.

Being called upon to plead, his Counsel, Mr. Alley, stated that he ought not to plead, as he was *insane*.—The Judge observed, that the Prisoner had no right to Counsel till he pleads. The Prisoner then complained that his papers had been detained from him; upon which the Attorney General declared that he had been offered copies.

Mr. Alley then moved that the trial should be postponed, in order that the Prisoner should have the benefit of producing witnesses. He read the affidavit of Ann Billet, stating in positive terms the insanity of the Prisoner, which fact was well known to many persons who were now absent at Liverpool and elsewhere. Mr. Alley appealed to the humanity and even justice of the Court, to let the trial stand over for a time.

The Attorney-General interfered, saying, that it was not legal for the Defendants' Counsel to make observations: he should confine himself to reading the affidavit.

Another affidavit, made by Mary Clark of Newgate-street, was read, to the same effect as the foregoing.

The Attorney-General maintained that this was a mere contrivance to impose on the Court. The Prisoner had been four months in town, yet he does not call any witnesses to prove that he was insane. On the contrary, the observations just made by the Prisoner respecting his papers, proved that his mind was not only sane but masculine.

Mr. Alley maintained that the Prisoner was entitled to have his trial put off. With respect to the circumstance of not procuring those in town to testify to his insanity, he said that every effort was used to procure the attendance of such persons, as well as Drs. Simmons and Monro; but that one stated the impossibility of his appearance today, and no answer from the other.

The Court then consulted for a short time, when

Sir James Mansfield said, that the affidavits were not sufficient to induce them to put off the trial, particularly as they did not specify what induced the prisoner to go to Russia, and how his mind has been regarded since his return, now two years. The motion was therefore refused, as neither of the affidavits did state that *at the time* when the crime was committed, he was insane.

He was then arraigned, and at the arraigning was allowed to challenge any of the Jurors if he thought fit.—Here the Counsel for the Crown challenged peremptorily one of the Jury of the name of Brown.—Mr. Alley objected to the right of the Crown to challenge, unless in cases of High Treason. The objection was over-ruled. A Mr. Bigby was then objected to by the Crown, and the Jury were sworn, who consisted of the following persons:—

Abraham Lee,	William English,
Daniel Heywood,	John Waters,
Thomas Whittington,	Charles Russel,
John Kennington,	James Osborne,
Thos. Juggins,	James King,
Lee Waters,	George Guyton.

The indictment was then read, and Mr. Abbott opened the pleadings, stating, that John Bellingham had committed the crime of murdering the Right Hon. Spencer Percival.

The Attorney General began by saying, that the painful task devolved on him of calling the attention of the Court and Jury to the case of the prisoner. He conjured them to consider, that justice, and not vengeance, to-day, was the object of this prosecution. He adverted to the prisoner's life and habits, and on the soundness of his mind in every transaction of his life, being selected by others to transact their business, as well as manifesting and exercising a complete knowledge of his own. He went some years ago to Russia, and there, whether by his conduct or misconduct, he could not say, but he was imprisoned, on which occasion he applied for redress to Lord G. L. Gower and Mr. Sharpe; but they could not interfere with the Government there, and he afterwards returned here, and went into business, and found persons to join

him, and employ him, in Liverpool, as well to manage his own as to conduct their affairs. Then he took it into his head that he was entitled to remuneration, and sought it from Government here. But no foundation being established that could warrant their consideration of him, his claim was rejected. He then endeavoured to appeal to Parliament, but no person could be found who would undertake the task, conceiving that he had not the least claim or right to any relief. He then applied to Mr. Perceval, who found that he had not just ground of claim, and, of course, resisted his suit. From that moment the desire of revenge arose in his mind, and murder was the crime he resolved on. He has been resident in this city for four or five months, and the whole of that time he has been occupied in preparing himself for the horrid act. He informed himself of the time when Mr. Percival was in the habit of going to the House of Commons, he provided himself with pistols, balls, and ammunition, and even had an alteration made in his dress by the addition of a pocket extraordinary to contain one of the pistols so provided. He placed himself in such a situation as was best calculated not only to commit the crime he had in view, but also to elude the possibility of prevention; for he took his station immediately within the outer door of the House of Commons, a spot precisely suited to meet every Member as he came in, and perpetrate the deed without interruption. You will hear from the witnesses the account of this tragical event. Is he, or is he not, guilty of the horrid assassination, is the simple question for the Jury, and on that you will decide? In adverting here to the bloody deed, the Attorney General noticed the manner in which the prisoner always conducted himself, to shew that he was always of of a sound mind, and completely so *at the time* that he committed the foul murder. Because he had done this one act, which was an act of madness, was it to be inferred that he was deranged, merely because he had committed so atrocious a deed, that no one else would have committed it? If so, then the consequence would be, *that the magnitude of the crime would be an apology for it.* The Learned Gentleman then stated the law of the case, as it applies to sane and insane persons. The first sages who had written on criminal law, had laid it down, that a man, though incapable of conducting his civil affairs, is criminally responsible if he has a mind capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. There had been such cases, two of which he should notice. The first was of Mr. Arnold, for the attempt to murder Lord Onslow, in 1723. The defence set up was, that Arnold was out of his mind, and several witnesses proved that he was to a certain extent incapable even from his childhood, every act of his life shewing a deficiency of understanding, and that he was not capable of managing either other people's affairs or his own. But it was proved that he had taken up a causeless resentment against Lord Onslow, had made preparations for the deed, and it was held by the Judge, that notwithstanding his deficient understanding, if he was capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, he was clearly answerable. The Jury found him guilty and he was executed.—The other case was that of Lord Ferrars's Steward. Lord Ferrars had taken up an unfounded suspicion against him, and had resolved upon putting the unfortunate man to instant death. He made preparations, sent for him to his house, put every other person out of the way, took him into a private room and shot him. It was proved that Lord Ferrars was frequently insane, that many of his relations had died insane, that his Solicitor was so convinced of his insanity that he refused to act for him. Medical men swore he was insane, his relations declared that they would have taken out a commission of lunacy, but were afraid of their motives being misrepresented. His Peers all declared with one consistent voice that he was guilty, and he was executed.—These cases the Attorney General applied to the present, maintaining that if even insanity in all his other acts had been manifest, yet the systematic correctness with which the prisoner contrived the murder of Mr. Perceval, shewed a mind *at the time* capable of distinguishing right and wrong.—Here there was no deficiency, as in the cases he had cited, and therefore he must insist, that if the Jury thought with him, they must find a verdict of Guilty. He concluded by expressing his satisfaction, that this was an act not connected with any other person, but confined solely to the prisoner at the Bar.

(Here *Wm. Smith, Esq. Gen. Gascoyne*, &c. &c. were examined, to prove the fact of the murder. Their evidence being of course the same as that given before the Coroner and the Magistrates, it is not repeated.)

Mr. Bellingham being called upon for his defence, said he should leave it to his Counsel. He was informed that he must make it himself, as he could not be allowed Counsel for that purpose. Mr. Bellingham said he was not prepared, as his papers had been kept from him.—The Attorney-General said that the papers, if authenticated, might be given to the Prisoner.—They were then put into his hands, and Mr. Bellingham having examined them for some time, then addressed the Jury in a speech of two hours' length.

He said he should consider himself as a monster, neither fitted for this world nor the next, had he committed the act charged without sufficient provocation. He disclaimed the plea of *insanity* set up for him, stating that it was the first time he had ever heard of such an allegation. He had been driven to the act by a series of persecution much beyond human indurance. For eight years he had been the victim of oppression, and Government had left him unprotected abroad and unredressed at home. In 1804 he had gone to Russia for mercantile purposes. He had been unjustly arrested there for a debt he never owed. The Governor of Archangel patronized this arrest for purposes of extortion. He in vain applied to Sir Stephen Shairpe and Lord Gower: he was imprisoned for six months, at a time when he was newly married, and Mrs. Bellingham, who was only 20 years of age, had an infant at her breast.—"Oh, my God! (he exclaimed) what a heart-rending scene that was!"—(*Here Mr. B. was much effected.*)—He brought a charge against the Governor of Archangel for extortion. Instead of obtaining redress, he was criminally arrested, and, to the eternal disgrace of his country, was frequently marched through the streets with the vilest of criminals, and confined for days in a cell upon bread and water, for the purpose of extorting money. He was kept in this situation for years, while his wife, though in a pregnant state, was compelled to sail for England in a most inclement season, without assistance or protection. What could any man of common feeling do, thus torn from his family, illegally imprisoned in a foreign land, and refused all justice?—At length, after being made a bankrupt, he was liberated by the interference of Marquis Douglas,

for Lord Gower had left the country, leaving him without resource. *It would have been fortunate for him had he brought Lord Gower to that justice of which he seemed insensible, instead of the unfortunate Mr. Perceval.*—He understood his Lordship was in Court *(looking round)* and he defied him to contradict these facts.—Arriving in England, utterly ruined, he applied to Mr. Perceval for redress, who replied, that the time for receiving private Petitions in Parliament was over.—He knew there was a time fixed for receiving private *bills*, but private *grievances* ought at all times to be heard, or there was an end of justice.—In this statement, therefore, he had been *deceived* by Mr. Perceval, though he wished to say well of the dead; and thus was bandied about from one to another without hope or prospect.—Let any of the Jury suppose this had been his own case, how would he have felt or acted?—Had he been a French subject in St. Petersburgh, the French Minister would have interfered on the instant and seen him redressed. That he was thus abandoned, was a subject of astonishment and derision to every foreigner in Russia.—Wearied with applying to the public offices, he petitioned the Prince Regent, and was referred to the Privy Council, who referred him to Parliament. Mr. Ryder referred him to Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Perceval to Mr. Ryder. His petition being of a pecuniary nature, could not be presented to Parliament without the sanction of the Minister, and this sanction Mr. Perceval would not give.—Under such circumstances, totally ruined, with a family looking in vain to him for support, what was he to do?—He had sought for justice in every possible quarter, and finding none, he had determined to take it into his own hands.—This was the only resource against the oppressions of the great; for the laws of society were intended to afford equal justice, and if this could not be obtained, society was at an end.—He had given notice at Bow-street that he should take justice into his own hands, and had asked Mr. Read to make this known to the Treasury, which it was his duty to have done. He believed he had so done; for applying for the last time there, he was told he might take what measures he pleased.—This he had done, having first exhausted every mode of procuring legal redress.—Mr. Perceval had refused this, and had thus trampled both on law and justice. To the obstinacy of Ministers was owing this fatal catastrophe, and not to any personal malice.—What other resource had he left; and what would become of the liberties of the country, if Ministers could refuse justice when they pleased, and leave their subjects to be imprisoned, disgraced, and ruined?—What he had done was a mite to a mountain, compared with what Government had done to him; yet he must be sent to the gallows, whilst his oppressors walked free. People were bound to obey Government only as Government protected them;—and he trusted that this event would be a serious lesson and warning to future Ministers how they denied justice.—Men in power must be made to feel, or there would be an end to all security.—Every husband and father must feel for his situation. Rather than suffer as he had for the last eight years, he would die five hundred deaths, and far from shrinking with horror from the grave, he should welcome it as a refuge from pain and sorrow, as the weary traveller welcomed a resting place.—He had no more to say. The question on which they had to decide, would remain with God and their consciences.

Mr. ALLEY here called three witnesses to prove Mr. Bellingham's insanity.—*Mrs. Billot*, who deposed that his father died insane in Titchfield-street, and that the prisoner always seemed insane when he talked of his Russian affairs;—*Mrs. Clarke*, who had deemed him insane since his return from Russia; and *Cath. Biggs*, a servant, residing in Millman-street, who thought he was much hurried in his answers, particularly on Monday last. She said, however, that he had been twice at church, at the Foundling, last Sunday, and was writing letters on Monday morning.

Sir J. MANSFIELD shortly summed up The prisoner was indicted for the murder of Mr. Perceval, a name dear to every Englishman; *(here his Lordship seemed much affected)* but the Jury were to consider it as a case of the meanest subject. The law knew no distinction of persons. They had to decide whether Mr. Perceval died by a pistol shot,—whether the prisoner fired that shot,—and whether he was in a sane mind, so as to know what he was about when he fired?—His Lordship concluded by telling the Jury, that if the prisoner, *at the time he fired the pistol*, knew right from wrong, he was a fit object for criminal justice.

The Jury withdrew for a quarter of an hour, and returned with a verdict of *Guilty*.

The RECORDER then pronounced an eulogy on Mr. Perceval, and the sentence of death on the prisoner, who was ordered to be hanged on Monday,—and his body to be anatomized;—a sentence which Mr. Bellingham heard with the utmost composure.

[The trial lasted eight hours.—When the prisoner was put to the bar, he appeared a little affected, but not at all dismayed. He made a profound bow to the Court, and was altogether calm and collected.—While at the bar, he looked at the assembly with a curious eye.—He was dressed in a brown great coat, yellow striped waistcoat, and nankeen trowsers.—After standing some hours, he asked for the indulgence of a chair;—the request was granted, and he seated himself, apparently much at ease. He frequently took up some leaves which were strewed at the bar, which he often handled and smelled.—During one of the pauses which occurred, he took an orange from his pocket and ate it.—Horse-guards were stationed near Blackfriar's bridge during the trial.]

MARRIAGES.

On Saturday the 9th ult., at St. Mary-le-bone Church, Mr. Charles Brown, of Leicester, to Sarah Matilda, youngest daughter of Simeon Bull, Esq. of Holles-street, Cavendish-square.

DEATHS.

On Tuesday, in Sloane-square, Mr. John Cart Burgess, Artist.—His loss (says a Correspondent,) will be deeply lamented by an extensive circle of friends.

On Wednesday evening, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ely fell down in an apoplectic fit, and suddenly expired. He was in such perfect health, that his Lady, Mrs. Dampier, was at the Concert of Sacred Music when the melancholy event took place.

On Saturday week, at Tiverton, Devon, James Nixon, Esq. aged 71, A. R. A. Limner to the Prince Regent, and principal Miniature Painter to the Duchess of York.

On Tuesday last, at Brownsea Castle, Devon, Charles Sturt, Esq., brother-in law of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

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